1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

the two reserves on Wale, Nina belonging to Yato and Una belonging to Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Una (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off taps land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te uto*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Motala*) at the site of the present watch house at Motala, the third (*te pa i te tukaupa tuae*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Nina ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te kavei olo ki tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te kavei tua ki tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolisms this information could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *kavei* (a strong foreshore fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *kavei* by the outer beach."

The stone from high walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus enforced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called *pale*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating taio beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waitoa, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 is known by the way in which the *kasi* is disturbed. In Leto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
694 in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
203 cook nio meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*unuenga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or firewood, until such visits are authorised by the village. When the report
[693] is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Waiaiaupiinga mai kakou,[1] o te mate' kake ki te vanenga a te pule ko overa ki a kakou ia. I a kakou, ave taku kakou i a kakou tama ko vakatokotoko vou i te nuku. Ko pukou nuku i loto, e rayi koe, ngakogakoga. Me i ai se tamai ia te venenga ko longo kakou talinga. Wakamaeke kakou vakatokoi. Ko te vanenga ia te tamai ni ki a kakou. Tenei ai koe ia te nuku ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

628 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
291 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotowa* fern to use as fertilizer for village taro beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [1] Here the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second persons plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *tatou, katou*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beke/Ishole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes. The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (wakatane), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the taio beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

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When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the taio beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive taio beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakaongoongo mai koua ki te wenua ko ewete ki te taua kaio. Ko we kai nana ki te motu. Ko taua nana ka mumui: E takiyoou te nio pupuke, e takiyapakapaka te nio. Tau ua nana a te kaio ka, mumui: E takiwawaiwai te wewe. E takiyapakapaka te tautiliki. Ko we taua ki te motu nei, e ya te kawau, e ya te ngongoi, e ya te kakia, e ya te kaka ki, e ya te kipe, e ya te kaipau, e ya te ango, e ya te wuti; e ya te ngangia. Ko te wui nana ia e wakaputia i te taua matua. Ka nana taua i ai e whai po, wenuanui kai taua. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: so manave nuts each, so drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: two tubers of taio each. For each child, so drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and spangle weed will be taps. These are the things to be taps in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the taps' foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip.

226 223 623 245 685 622

Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as follows:

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.